

UNCLASSIFIED

E5

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 STATE 155879 212142Z
ORIGIN AF-01

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00 | ACDA-17 | AMAD-01 | CIAE-00 | C-01 | OASY-00 | DODE-00 |
| | DOEE-00 | EUR-01 | HA-09 | H-01 | TEDE-00 | INR-00 | L-03 |
| | ADS-00 | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01 | PA-01 | PM-02 | PRS-01 |
| | P-01 | SDEL-00 | SNP-00 | SP-00 | SS-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00 |
| | USIE-00 | CORE-00 | /040R | | | | |

1459

DRAFTED BY: AF/C: CSFULLER-(AF)

APPROVED BY: AF/C: RMPRINGLE

AF/E: OWGRIFFITH

-----C2895C 212144Z /38

P R 212141Z MAY 93

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 155879

E.O. 12356: N/A

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 155879 212142Z

TAGS: MOPS PREL MCAP RW

SUBJECT: ARUSHA PEACE TALKS STALLED ON PENDING MILITARY ISSUES

REF: (A) 93 DAR ES SALAAM 2634, (B) 93 DAR ES SALAAM 2579

1. THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS PROVIDED BY JOYCE LEADER FROM ARUSHA.

2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST. SEE PARA 13.

3. SUMMARY: DISCUSSION OF PENDING MILITARY ISSUES IS DRAGGING ON, BOGGED DOWN OVER THE ADEQUACY OF SECURITY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ASSURANCES TO THE RPF THAT WOULD ENABLE THEM TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND ENTER KIGALI. IN CONTINUED SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, TANZANIA HAS TAKEN A TOUGH STAND WITH THE RPF INTENDING TO MINIMIZE POSSIBLE RPF RECOURSE TO WAR. IN THE FACE OF RPF INTRANSIGENCE, HOWEVER, THE FACILITATOR HAS TOSSED THE BALL BACK TO THE GOR. TANZANIA IS PRESSING FOR TALKS TO END IN TIME FOR THE OAU SUMMIT. WITH POSSIBLY SEVERAL WEEKS OF MILITARY TALKS YET TO COME, USG SHOULD CONSIDER SENDING MILITARY EXPERT COL. MARLEY BACK TO ARUSHA TO HELP RESOLVE PENDING MILITARY ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

4. PENDING MILITARY ISSUES ARE DRAGGING ON WITH EARLY RESOLUTION NOWHERE IN SIGHT. THE RPF HAS GIVEN LITTLE GROUND IN THREE DAYS OF TOUGH, CLOSED-DOOR SESSIONS WITH THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR AND THE UN MILITARY EXPERT ON ELEMENTS OF THE DISENGAGEMENT/DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS AND STATUS OF KIGALI, WHICH THE RPF CONSIDERS VITAL TO ITS SECURITY. THE RPF HAS PUT THE BALL BACK IN THE GOR COURT WITH A NEW PROPOSAL FOR QUOTE NEUTRALIZING UNQUOTE KIGALI, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 155879 212142Z
WHILE THERE HAS BEEN ONLY MINIMAL PROGRESS ON THE DISENGAGEMENT/DEMOBILIZATION ISSUE. THE GOR WILL MEET THE FACILITATOR 5/21 TO RESPOND.

5. THE GENDARMERIE QUESTION, COMPOSITION OF A POST-SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL FORCE FOR AFTER A PEACE ACCORD, AND FORCE PROPORTIONS ARE STILL TO COME. TANZANIA'S DEFENSE MINISTER PLANS TO DEPART ARUSHA IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE, FACILITATOR'S REPRESENTATIVE, SAYS HE MUST RETURN TO DAR BY JUNE 1 TO PREPARE FOR THE OAU SUMMIT.

THE ISSUES

6. AT ISSUE IN THE DISENGAGEMENT/DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS IS WHETHER THE RPF WILL BE ALLOWED TO RETAIN EASY ACCESS TO ITS HEAVY WEAPONS (I.E., BY HAVING CANTONMENT SITES AT ASSEMBLY POINTS) AND TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF ITS COMMAND STRUCTURE (I.E., BY KEEPING TROOPS TAPPED FOR THE NEW ARMY TOGETHER WITH THOSE TO BE DEMOBILIZED), GIVING THE RPF POSSIBLE RECOURSE TO WAR SHOULD THE PEACE PROCESS FALTER. AT ISSUE IN THE STATUS OF KIGALI IS WHETHER SECURITY WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE THE RPF TO ENTER KIGALI (IN CONTRAST TO FRELIMO IN MAPUTO) AND FEEL SECURE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ABOUT STAYING (IN CONTRAST TO UNITA IN LUANDA.)

THE PROCESS

7. THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR, SOMETIMES DEFENSE MINISTER KINANA AND SOMETIMES AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE, CONTINUED SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY TO RESOLVE PENDING MILITARY ISSUES. AFTER
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 155879 212142Z
DISCUSSING OPTIONS WITH BOTH SIDES 5/16 AND 5/17, AND AFTER CONSULTING OBSERVERS 5/18, THE TANZANIANS DECIDED TO COME DOWN HARD ON THE RPF, PRESENTING TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT RECOMMENDATIONS INFLUENCED PRIMARILY BY THE UN MILITARY EXPERT'S ADVICE.

8. MPUNGWE TOLD U.S. OBSERVER TANZANIA WOULD INSIST THAT THE RPF ACCEPT SOLUTIONS THAT WOULD DEPRIVE IT OF EASY ACCESS TO ITS HEAVY WEAPONS AND DISRUPT ITS COMMAND STRUCTURE. TANZANIAN CREDIBILITY, HE SAID, DEMANDED THAT IT NOT AGREE TO OPTIONS BLATANTLY AGAINST INTERNATIONAL ADVICE THAT WOULD GIVE THE RPF RECOURSE TO WAR. HE SAID THE RPF COMMAND STRUCTURE CANNOT BE KEPT INTACT, ITS ABILITY TO FUNCTION AS A FIGHTING FORCE MUST BE DESTROYED, AND THE RPF MUST DEVELOP CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW COMMAND STRUCTURE.

9. ALTHOUGH MPUNGWE WOULD NOT SAY WHAT POSITION TANZANIA ADVOCATED FOR KIGALI, REPORTS INDICATE IT SUPPORTED USE OF KIGALI MILITARY FACILITIES AS ASSEMBLY POINTS FOR GOR FORCES. THIS POSITION, COINCIDENT WITH THAT OF THE GOR, WAS SUPPORTED BY THE UN MILITARY EXPERT.

10. TANZANIA'S SURPRISINGLY TOUGH STAND WITH THE RPF OVER THE PAST THREE DAYS INVOLVED REVERSAL OF SOME INITIAL CONCLUSIONS OF THE DEFENSE MINISTER (REF B.). THIS MAY EXPLAIN IN PART WHY TANZANIA HAS KEPT OBSERVERS ON THE PERIPHERY OF THIS SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY. IT MAY ALSO BE THAT THE POSITIONS IT ADOPTED COINCIDED MORE CLOSELY WITH THOSE OF THE WESTERN OBSERVERS THAN OF THE AFRICAN OBSERVERS, AS EXPRESSED AT THE 5/18 MEETING WITH OBSERVERS. HOWEVER, IN
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 155879 212142Z

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

THE FACE OF RPF INTRANSIGENCE, THE FACILITATOR HAS BACKED AWAY FROM ITS TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT OFFERS AND TOSSED THE BALL BACK TO THE GOR TO FIND A SOLUTION MORE PALATABLE TO THE RPF ON KIGALI.

NEXT STEPS

11. THE FACILITATOR WILL MEET THE GOR 5/21 TO CONTINUE TALKS ON THE STATUS OF KIGALI. IF THE GOR'S COUNTER PROPOSAL FAILS TO MEET RPF DEMANDS FOR EITHER A DEMILITARIZED OR A NEUTRALIZED KIGALI -- USE OF KIGALI MILITARY FACILITIES AS ASSEMBLY POINTS DOES NEITHER -- THIS ISSUE COULD BE ON THE TABLE FOR SEVERAL MORE DAYS. ALTHOUGH WE ARE TOLD THE RPF HAS ACCEPTED TO SEPARATE CANTONMENT SITES FROM ASSEMBLY POINTS, THIS ISSUE, THE ISSUE OF SEPARATION OF MOBILIZED FROM DEMOBILIZED TROOPS, AND HOW, WHEN, AND BY WHOM ASSEMBLY POINTS ARE TO BE IDENTIFIED, MUST STILL BE PINNED DOWN.

GAPYISI FACTOR

12. THE ASSASSINATION 2/19 OF RWANDAN POLITICIAN EMMANUEL GAPYISI HAS CAST A PALL OVER THE PEACE TALKS. IT COULD NOT HAVE COME AT A WORSE TIME: IT STRENGTHENS THE CASE FOR RPF SECURITY DEMANDS WHILE WEAKENING GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES FOR EFFECTIVE SECURITY.

COMMENT

13. THE MILITARY TALKS ARE BOGGED DOWN OVER SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR THE RPF, JUST AS THE POWER-SHARING TALKS
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 06 STATE 155879 212142Z
STALLED OVER POLITICAL GUARANTEES FOR THE FORMER SINGLE PARTY. WHILE SUCH GUARANTEES ARE ESSENTIAL, SECURITY DEMANDS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO MASK STRATEGIES THAT WOULD KEEP THE RPF IN TACT AS A REBEL FIGHTING FORCE AND GIVE IT THE OPTION OF RECOURSE TO WAR. AT SOME POINT, THE RPF; MUST ACCEPT AND DEMONSTRATE ITS FULL COMMITMENT TO AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

ACTION REQUEST

14. WITH MILITARY TALKS LIKELY TO DRAG ON FOR SOME TIME, U.S. OBSERVER SUGGESTS THAT COL. TONY MARLEY CONSIDER RETURNING TO ARUSHA FOR 1 - 2 WEEKS NEEDED TO WRAP UP THE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PENDING MILITARY ISSUES. HIS PAST ADVICE HAS BEEN MUCH APPRECIATED BY BOTH SIDES AND FORMS THE BASIS FOR MUCH OF THE CURRENT DISCUSSION. HIS PRESENCE COULD HELP REINFORCE POSITIONS OF U.N. EXPERT AND COUNTER BALANCE UNPRODUCTIVE ADVICE FROM ELSEWHERE. PLEASE ADVISE. (NOTE:FRENCH OBSERVER IS MAKING SIMILAR RECOMMENDATION.)

15. DEPARTMENT COMMENT: COL. MARLEY IS ATTEMPTING TO REACH THE FACILITATOR AND RPF REPRESENTATIVE MAZIMPAKA ATO HELP RESOLVE THE BLOCKAGE. WE WILL CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS RETURN TO ARUSHA, BUT HOPE THIS WILL NOT BE NECESSARY. IF THE TALKS DRAG ON, WE MAY WANT TO ASK DAR POLOFF BENTLEY TO RELIEVE LEADER FOR 1-2 WEEKS IN ARUSHA. END COMMENT.
CHRISTOPHER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED